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555 of the difficulties involved. Ambition is directed toward practical ends, such as a business or government clerkship or becoming a teacher.

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194 It is probably too early to judge the effects of post-war instruction in English. The question is whether students will acquire working knowledge beyond the stage of conventional expressions and simple constructions. Pronouncing English is difficult for Okinawans, partly because the Oriental tradition in education has been so largely visual rather than oral, partly because students, consciously or unconsciously, convert English sounds into their rough Japanese equivalents, and proceed from there.

875 In the primary and high schools, English, with few exceptions, is taught by teachers who themselves have learned English from Japanese teachers. They have added to this knowledge, by private study, often
[214] far into the night, of the dreadful English-Japanese phrase books, grammars, and other compendia which the Japanese love to publish. English still reaches the student through this Japanese sieve. So many teachers have learned English this way that the ordinary English of a native speaker baffles them, and they are easily thrown off by "intonation." Correction of this will have to be very gradual. The best teacher of English I saw was a young man who had been taught by an older Okinawan teacher who had in turn been taught by an Englishman. These teachers are devoted to their subject. But it is distressing to see them at study; trying to learn the language by mastering the uses of "nothing but," or "in order to," or "so that," or poring over those phrase books with their headings, "At the postoffice," "At the purser's office on the boat," etc., etc. Much of this is due to the fact that
[177] until recent times they have had little or no contact with native English speakers. In the rural areas this contact is still rare. A young man in one of the villages, an addict of the phrase books,
876 one afternoon was studying hard to master the courtesies of a newly appointed ambassador calling on the Japanese foreign minister in his garden! He had been studying English for years, and finally one day got a job as a clerk in a military installation. But he was not a clerk; as he told it, he was a clarku. It is undeniable that these students learn an English that can be understood. Many of them would be able to use the language, and improve rapidly, if chosen as exchange students or national leaders. But the misdirected effort and the wasted eyesight are pitiful.

In the primary schools, English is taught in a conventional way. The teacher reads a sentence or a passage. The class reads after him, and the individual pupils recite. Much the same procedure is followed in the high schools, but there is more conversation. This system turns out many who know some English, but are very hesitant about using it, and a few who have some real understanding. The failures should not be emphasized too much; the point is that as soon as possible English should be taught by teachers who have learned the language from native speakers.

A munchu was made up of a number of households or families united through the male line, descended from a common ancestor, and sharing a common tomb. Village endogamy was an obligatory marriage practice and violations did not pass unpunished; in addition kin group endogamy was a preferred practice, though not necessarily an obligatory one. Intervillage contacts and ties, consequently, were held to a minimum. These customs were followed by the majority of the oldest generation now living, and even today such practices tend to persist in rural areas. A survey in Kanegusuku revealed that fifty percent of the marriages were between members of the same kin group and sixty-six percent of the marriages were between residents of the same village. Such practices, to be sure, are breaking down, and this becomes evident when the above data are analyzed on an age basis, but in view of the fact that these customs still prevail, though to a more limited extent than formerly, it is not surprising that so considerable a diversity of dialects should also be preserved.

Another facet of Okinawan dialect geography is the occurrence of small speech-islands exhibiting dialects distinct from those of the surrounding areas. These are the so called yaadui settlements founded during the 18th and 19th centuries by migrants from the Naha-Shuri area; the newcomers were usually the younger sons of gentry families seeking their livelihood in the country. Such settlements not only enjoyed a political independence from the larger surrounding communities but also were never incorporated into the formal religious system centering on the nuru priestess and unifying the rural areas. These factors together with previously-mentioned marriage practices enabled such settlements to preserve their identity. Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son serves as a good example of this type of village, having been settled seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families residing in Naha and Shuri. The larger neighboring villages never absorbed Kitazato, and to this day it preserves a dialect quite distinct from theirs. The most notable contrast between them centers on the p and h sounds in the two dialects, for all p sounds of nearby Oushiken are rendered h in Kitazato; thus, the word for "fire" is pi in the dialect of the former and hi in the latter's.

Undoubtedly this dialectic diversity is decreasing as the old customs die out and the isolation of the village disappears. The war uprooted many communities and scattered their inhabitants about the island, and nearly all villages now have a number of families new to the village since the war. New communities like the entertainment center of Koza have no characteristic dialect of their own, containing as they do a heterogeneous population recruited from all parts of the Ryukyus. The vast improvements in roads and transportation services since the end of the war have given the people a mobility undreamed of in the prewar period and have done much to destroy the isolation of the rural areas.

"Uchinaaguchi" Okinawans call their dialect uchinaaguchi and themselves uchinaanchu. The terms 'Okinawago', Japanese for Okinawan language, and 'hōgen', Japanese for dialect, are also in common usage though the latter term is resented by some who feel that it carries the connotation "rustic". Today all Okinawan speech contains many loan words from Japanese; this obtains for those who know no Japanese as well as for those who are bilingual. Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has

Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has resulted in a tendency toward slight sound shifts in the direction of Japanese phonology; this is particularly true among the bilingual speakers. The same process is operative in the Japanese of these Okinawan speakers in that there is a tendency toward Okinawan phonology. 194 177

The real strongholds of Okinawan speech today are the family and the rural areas. In an old and relatively unchanged village like Kanegusuku little Japanese is heard despite the fact that most of the villagers are bilingual. That Okinawan is the language of the family is best demonstrated by the pre-school-age children who do not speak or understand any Japanese aside from a few greetings and polite phrases. Likewise men over sixty and women over fifty-five usually cannot speak Japanese. The remainder of the village, approximately seventy percent of the total, is bilingual; however, this figure is somewhat misleading in so far as actual usage is concerned. A majority of the married women use Japanese infrequently since Okinawan is the language of their daily lives, which are largely confined to the village and home. For the men, a number of whom have seen service abroad in the Japanese forces, there is a greater freedom of movement and a wider range of contacts providing more occasion for the use of Japanese. Yet within the village many of them preferred to use Okinawan, and even the high school students were inclined to shed their Japanese on returning to the village. A number of bilingual informants ascribed this preference for Okinawan to the influence of the old people who understood Japanese imperfectly or not at all. As one informant put it, "The old people in this village just don't like being spoken to in Japanese, and if some person does this, they say he is trying to be big." Undoubtedly their influence is a strong factor, but this preference is also likely attributable to a low degree of proficiency in Japanese. Prior to the postwar period few villagers obtained more than a sixth grade education; consequently, many are not as articulate in Japanese as they are in Okinawan. It should also be noted that within the village a selective factor operates so as to perpetuate the use of Okinawan. Mention is made in another section of this report of a mayor's comment to the effect that all those who receive a good education, high school or university, soon leave the village. Thus, the very group most likely to further the spread of Japanese leaves before its influence is felt. 191 178 177 621 [871] [166]

The resentment of the oldest generation toward the use of Japanese resolves itself among the younger, bilingual generations into an attitude that Japanese imparts a certain formality to an occasion, and hence situations calling for the use of Okinawan or Japanese tend to be rather compartmentalized in their minds. Formal occasions prescribe the use of Japanese and informal ones Okinawan. Village political meetings and elections were always conducted in Japanese, and when the 'son' officials made one of their periodic inspections of the village, only Japanese was used in addressing them. On the other hand the use of Japanese at a party would be regarded as too formal and a bit unfriendly, and, of course, with old people and children only Okinawan is used. Besides the formal-informal dichotomy there exists the feeling among the better-educated bilinguals that Japanese is a modern and sophisticated language whereas Okinawan is backward and rustic. 191 829 177

There are several aspects of Okinawan culture wherein the local language is used to the exclusion of Japanese; chief among these are the theater 191 178

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